Women privately gossiping over the value of a dowry payment that has just been brought to Allendorf.

Boys furnish a musical accompaniment on gongs and mokos to the communal labor involved in building a lineage house.

[p.32 w]

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

design is first traced on her forehead or cheek and is then pricked in with a thorn dipped in charcoal. The procedure usually draws a number of girls and adult women, all of whom discuss animatedly which of a limited number of simple designs will be used. Often a little girl who has taken no initiative in the matter will be urged by a friend or adult to undergo the operation. Beauty is the only objective.

It is a tradition to insist that the operation does not hurt, and when I asked a girl who had just had the task completed whether it was painful, older women answered before she was able to, assuring me that it was not. On one occasion some older women, by way of teasing the child's grandmother, urged a little girl of seven to let herself be tattooed. The grandmother arrived just in time to prevent the scheme from being carried out. She was very indignant that her grandchild should have been cajoled into it when she was obviously so young. In relation to a discussion of skills and craftsmanship which will come later, it should be stated that the tattooing process is often very crude and usually impermanent, so that traces of designs are rarely distinguishable on the faces of middle-aged women.

GROWING UP FOR BOYS

Whereas girls are tattooed from approximately ten to fourteen, the comparable badge of adulthood for boys, i.e., long hair, does not come until somewhat later, at ages I should estimate from sixteen to eighteen. When boys begin to let their hair grow long, they also begin borrowing or acquiring male accouterments. These are dwelt upon in loving detail in many myths and consist of a sword, a front shield, a back shield, a parrying shield, a bow, a wide belt of woven rattan that serves as a quiver, an areca basket with bells, and the tubular, areca-bark hair cylinder with the accompanying combs and head plumes. Naturally, a young man rarely succeeds in borrowing or acquiring all these articles at first, but he gets as many as he can and struts about in them, often followed by the half-admiring, half-derisive comments of older women and girls. There is a special expression for the type of laughter that women direct toward a young man, which I can translate only by our word *hoot*. Its character is as unmistakable as the laughter that accompanies the telling of smutty jokes in our culture. A young man of about twenty himself described in the following words this attitude and the associated courting interests of both boys and girls.

"When a lot of women get together to work in the fields or to fetch water, they talk and talk. When you hear them hoot, that means they are talking about a man. Maybe one girl says she likes a certain man and intends to sleep with him

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

woman stepped over Lanata and urinated on him, thereby bewitching him. 539

The next day Lanata's six friends called him. He wished to accompany them, but the woman persuaded him to continue living with her in the village.

In five days the woman suggested that Lanata go pig hunting with his brothers-in-law. Lanata shot an animal which the dogs were pursuing and which proved to be a snake. This happened twice. His brothers-in-law wished to eat the snake, but Lanata refused and instead provided himself with crabs and crayfish from the ravine. The next day he returned to the village with only the remnants of his crabs, whereas his brothers-in-law brought in the snake meat. His wife cooked the meat, but Lanata refused to touch it, saying, "You eat what I should eat. You substitute for my mouth."

After a time the woman was pregnant. She and Lanata set out for his village of Murswating. On the way she turned into a bat and flew to his village while he walked. While they lived in Murswating, a child from Kewai entered their garden. The child saw a green snake sleeping on top of a tuber which was pushing through the earth. The green snake (witch) ate the child's liver, and the child died. The men of Kewai were angry. They encircled Lanata's house and set it afire. Lanata's wife turned into a bat and flew away. Lanata was shot as he tried to escape. As he lay dying his hand closed on Alurkowani's testicles so firmly that it had to be pried open. After that Lanata's soul possessed Alurkowani, and witches multiplied in Kewai so that now all the people there are witches.

The improbability of anecdotes about witchcraft makes me feel that we are dealing here with a complete fantasy structure. The beliefs are couched in terms similar to those used in near-by culture areas. In such clusters of ideas, peoples from other regions have invested a great deal of psychic energy. It is noteworthy that this is not the case in Atimelang, where neither witchcraft, sorcery, nor poisoning bulks large, either as an institution or a preoccupation. 754 154 171

Only two deaths of which I knew gave rise to definite gossip of poisoning. It was, however, very cautiously discussed in undertones and only among friends. It is possible that more such rumors circulated but never reached my ears. However, one man who had not been feeling well for some time talked quite freely with me about the possibility of having been poisoned on a trip to the coast, where he chewed areca with a stranger. It was very difficult to get any concrete data even from 761 521

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

754 those willing to discuss the matter. A dead man's tooth powdered into
824 food or mixed with tobacco is supposed to be deadly. A fly that alights on such food will die; therefore, finding a dead fly in food offered by people whose good will one has reason to suspect, arouses suspicions of an intent to poison. All interest in this field, as in the field of witchcraft, remains on a remote plane and is stimulated only by some ill fortune. I feel quite sure there was no general pervasive malaise in this connection.
● 521 At a time when Maliseni and his brother were absent a good deal visiting a village on the west slope of Kalabahi Bay, people whispered that they were purchasing poison there. So far as I know, however, the matter was dropped as a subject of gossip after four or five days.

Witchcraft and poisoning are definitely not major problems and are only minor causes, among many, of illness and death. There is absolutely no attempt, such as one often finds in sorcery- and witchcraft-ridden areas, to conceal nail parings, excreta, and all personal effluvia. On page 88 there was an account of a woman who thought her husband had poisoned her by using a piece of areca-nut shell she had tossed away. In an area really preoccupied with poisoning no woman on bad terms with her husband and in a strange village would have been so careless. The interesting aspect of these matters of witchcraft and poisoning is that they are present but largely latent.

789 The most frequently used form of malignant activity is the laying
635 of curses. These, as we have already noted, may be directed by one
241 individual against another. It is not done secretly; quite on the contrary,
578 it constitutes a public declaration of hostility where personal relationships have reached the breaking point. More common is the impersonal use of curses, usually after one has been the victim of theft by an unknown person. Since there is very little property, except garden produce, whose owner is not generally known, most such protections against theft are to be seen in fields, near areca and coconut palms, or near the place where a child, too small to identify anyone, has been robbed. Toddlers often wear anklets with a bell or a single-strand cord belt on which coins or beads have been strung. If these are stolen, and not infrequently they are, a curse will be erected by an expert on the trail where the child usually plays. A common sight in gardens is a bamboo pole bearing one of a large possible variety of sickness insignia. These may be erected before one has been victimized, as a warning to a potential thief, or after one has been victimized, in order that the unknown thief may develop that particular illness.

685 An instance of such procedure may serve to make matters clearer.
789 Fanseni Long Hair's son, a child of about two, had a coin stolen from